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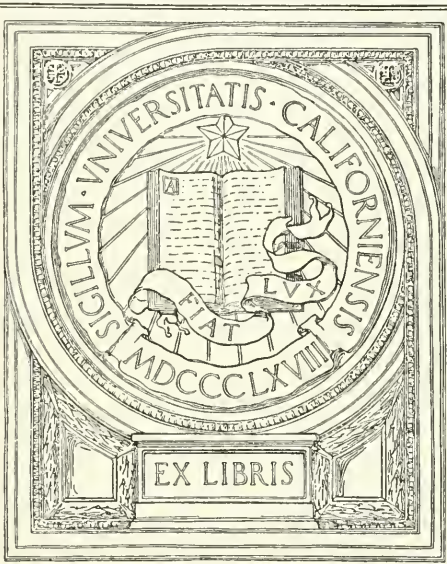
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Colonel Wardle to his Countrymen

By

Gwyllym Lloyd Wardle

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
AT LOS ANGELES



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COLONEL WARDLE

TO HIS COUNTRYMEN.

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COLONEL WARDLE,

Wardle
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TO HIS COUNTRYMEN.

Parve, nec invideo, sine me, Liber, ibis in Urbem.

Ovid.

Ὅποτε γὰρ αἰσθητοῖό τι ἀντὶς παρὰ καιρὸν ὕβρει
Θαρσύντας, λέγων κατέπλησεν ἐπὶ τὸ φοβεῖσθαι.

Thucyd. B. ξί.

LONDON:

PUBLISHED BY JAMES BIGGS,

53, PARLIAMENT STREET.

MDCCCXXVIII.

THE
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CONSTITUTION

Albion Press:

HARJETTE AND SAVILL, 107, ST. MARTIN'S LANE,
CHARING CROSS.

THE LITERARY COMMITTEE
OF THE ALBION PRESS

PRINTED AND SOLD BY
HARJETTE AND SAVILL, 107, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, CH. CROSS.

1884

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COLONEL WARDLE

TO HIS COUNTRYMEN.

WHEN I addressed you upon former occasions you attended to me unasked ; upon the present, I pray you to do so ; for it is the cause of justice and humanity that I plead.

The champion of civil and religious liberty is no more ; but, forefend it fate that Liberty should wither on his tomb !

The immortal name of Canning will still be a talisman to all her votaries ; and the great work he so nobly had begun they will accomplish. Never did statesman inspire such great and extended admiration whilst living, or occasion such deep affliction by his death. Great and general is his loss ; but great and general must be the influence of that short but glorious period, in which his transcendant genius, while extending and legitimating liberal sentiments, gave the death blow to the foulest and most powerful conspiracy that ever was formed against civil and religious liberty. Much has he done for the world ; much for his country ; and the beams of his splendid mind will continue to cheer the one and the other in his last great work, the union of talent and liberality.

The common enemy of national independence, bigotry I mean, found its own destruction in attempt-

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ing that of this great statesman, who, in the overthrow of that *common enemy*, secured to it a *common friend* by the triumph of liberality. He secured to the service of the state a more enlightened body of men than ever occupied the ministerial benches at any former period. A body of men whose stakes in the country are great as their talents are splendid, and who have given such repeated proofs of their independent principles, as to raise them beyond a suspicion of being influenced by other considerations than the public good. His last best gift to the nation was this *common friend*; and in the revolution of party effected by him, he has left an inestimable legacy to his country. Great, however, are the difficulties of the country, and the common enemy, though stript of its ministerial influence, has still the power to increase them; and, with that power, the will: that enemy stands unmasked; and whilst corn is grown in the land there will be record to after ages of the thing it was! That the common friend will conquer in the open field, and, in defiance of all opposition, correct the abuses in the public expenditure, push commerce to an extent that may alleviate the pressure of the national debt, consolidate the landed and manufacturing interests, and, in giving security and stability to both, give food to the people, I am disposed to believe. That he may do all this, and even more than this, if the power be continued to him and time allowed him, is both possible and probable; but though he may thus triumph over the foe in the open field, still I cannot divest myself of fears that he may fall by the shafts of secret treachery; and as in his fall that of the country would be involved, you must not blame the anxiety I may shew to guard against the possibility of your inadvertently lending yourselves to the accomplishment of a plan, upon which the common enemy places his hopes of returning into power.

The danger that I apprehend arises out of the question of Catholic Emancipation; a question that must ultimately decide upon the fate of the empire. How far the scruples of the late King had been worked upon by secret and evil counsellors, is manifested by the disregard he shewed to the opinion of his Lord Chief Justice, Lord Kenyon, in respect to the coronation oath. The workers of darkness then prevailed; and Mr. Pitt was betrayed and sacrificed to vulgar prejudice. That base artifices will again be resorted to, when the Catholic question is next agitated, with the hope of removing the friends to Emancipation from the councils of George the Fourth, there can be little reason to doubt. The men that have recently made the unconstitutional attempt to influence the votes in parliament, by reference to a pretended royal feeling, will not hesitate to resort to unconstitutional means to strengthen that feeling, if it does exist, or to give birth to it if it does not.

The absurdity of the doctrine, that the coronation oath was an obstacle to the granting the prayer of the Catholics, having been completely established, there will be a necessity for seeking other poison for the royal ear. This new poison for the crown will be prepared by administering new poison to the people, and a deception, as to national opinion, will succeed to the deception as to the coronation oath. As the medium of such opinion is petition to the king or parliament, nothing will be left undone, by the bigots of church and state, that can promote the delusion under which petitions, declaratory of opinions inimical to the Catholic claims, can alone be procured. The same insidious means that have been successful before will be again resorted to; and the Protestant mind will again be assailed by calumnious falsehoods, that justice may be sacrificed at the shrine of prejudice. These their means it is that I

shall endeavour to expose, in order, by a reference to the past, to put you upon your guard against them for the future. That the insidious part they have acted should altogether have escaped your observation, I cannot suppose; but as they succeeded generally in agitating the public mind and, in many instances, in producing a strong feeling against the Catholics, it is natural to conclude that, in a state of agitation, the cause might be lost sight of in the effect: if that had not been the case, such means, so far from having produced such effect, could not have failed to have stamped the cause at once with its real character, oppression supported by bigotry, deception, and falsehood. Undisturbed by any feelings, save those of sorrow that justice should have been so long delayed (for sooner or later it must be rendered), and of indignation against those that have caused that delay, I have given uninterrupted attention to all that was passing in England. Happy shall I be if my observations on what has passed there, and such information as I can offer relative to the situation of the Catholics and Protestants on the Continent, should enable me to induce any of you to cast away those prejudices that have originated in so foul a source—Prejudices that have led you to the monstrous belief that the profession of the Catholic faith rendered man unfit for the social compact, and, in that belief, to give support to a party whose blind and intolerant zeal threatens the country with anarchy and bloodshed. After twelve years residence amongst the Catholics on the Continent, I may be allowed to speak with some degree of confidence as to their general character, and I should be most unjust if I did not declare that I have found them liberal in their sentiments upon all subjects, and upon that of religion, infinitely more so than very many of my Protestant countrymen. I am borne out in this my feeling by those who, like myself, have lived

much in their society. One of that number distinguished by rank and talent, led me in the first instance to give attention to the fact. On observing that a young Englishman, engaged in a religious discussion, measured his words with extreme caution, he encouraged him to speak out, in reminding him that he was on the Continent. Upon the same principle of justice, I will add that, I believe, the Catholics to be as loyal, and true, and to have as many virtues and as few vices as any other sect in Europe, and, consequently, to be as worthy of confidence as their fellow men, be those men of what sect they may. I speak of the Catholics generally; for, as to the enlightened men of that and every other religion, their mutual acquirements naturally approach them to each other, and banish even the shadow of distinction. I may, probably, have already said enough to bring upon me an anathema from the intolerants amongst my countrymen. I well remember that Deist, according to their diction, was synonymous with Atheist; and those that believed not as they did, were servants of Satan. The least then, that I can expect at their hands, is to be dubbed Papist; if they do dub me so, they will, as usual, be wrong; my conversion, so far from being accomplished, has not yet been attempted, and such as I left my country, I am at this hour.

Very far from my intention is it to enter at length into the great question of Emancipation, which has been so ably discussed by the most illustrious of our statesmen at different periods in this and the last century. It will be sufficient for my purpose to call your attention to some of its prominent features. The first of these features is an incontrovertible truth, resulting from those discussions, that all the great leaders of all the parties, differing on other questions, were agreed on this, *that the Emancipation of the Catho-*

lics was a measure not only advisable but necessary to the safety and prosperity of the United Kingdom. The second, that the opinion of those great leaders has been also that of a very great majority of the men of talent, rank, and property, in both houses of parliament. These two facts alone render it matter of astonishment, that the question has not long ago been set at rest. How it is that these enlightened statesmen and patriots have been successively baffled, and the country so long deprived of those greatest of blessings, domestic peace and good fellowship, common to other civilised states in Europe, shall be my task to shew. . . But, before I descend to the polluted source of that spirit of intolerance which continues to disturb our peace at home, and to astonish and disgust both Catholic and Protestant abroad, I would ask, whether it be the part of wise and good citizens to profit by the knowledge and experience of statesmen, before whom all Europe bowed, and who “ruled her when she was wildest,” or to set that knowledge and experience at nought, to see danger where they saw safety, and to prefer strife to harmony? Who amongst you, is prepared to say that your opinion outweighs that of a Pitt, a Fox, a Burke, a Grattan, or a Canning; or that an Eldon, a Colchester, a Peel, a Dawson, can be put in competition with men like those? Not one of you will answer in the affirmative on either point: how is it then that you reject the great and enlightened, and cling to such as these? Because, the first, superior to all trick and subterfuge, addressed your judgment; and the latter, by trick and subterfuge, have blinded that judgment, and worked upon your passions. Possessed of these, they have directed the worst of them, that of intolerance, against six millions of your brethren, whose only crime is the adherence to the religion of your ancestors, which you have in part rejected, but which they hold entire.

Such is their crime; but what is the sum of the charges made against them, by the church and state of the nineteenth century? That they are traitors to their king, perjured to their country, and idolaters to their God!"

Were there truth in any one of these allegations, Lord Eldon might be justified in his unqualified assertion, that the granting them Emancipation "would be destructive to our civil and religious liberties;" but as these charges are as false as foul, one cannot but lament that, after having sacrificed thousands to his doubts, when it was his duty to give judgment, he should be found ready to sacrifice millions by his judgment, when common humanity should have led him to doubt. Upon what does his lordship rest this his judgment? Not upon the evidence of facts, corroborative of any of the charges, but upon the alleged opinions of one of those great statesmen to whom I have alluded, Mr. Pitt. If then it be shewn that the opinions of Mr. Pitt, so far from bearing out such judgment, were in direct opposition to it, the judgment must necessarily fall; but what must be the fall of the Ex-Lord Chancellor, if it should also appear that he knew that Mr. Pitt's opinions were any thing, and every thing but what they were represented to be by his Lordship? Fortunately for the cause of humanity, excess of bigotry not unfrequently renders its votaries blind; and fortunately for the cause I vindicate, it has had that effect upon Dr. Philpotts, connected by marriage and intolerance with his Lordship. In attempting to establish the humbug interpretation of the coronation oath, he has given a death blow not only to that humbug, but to that of his noble relative, with regard to the opinions of Mr. Pitt. For the late King's correspondence of March 1785, with his Lord Chief Justice Kenyon, and for that of Jan. 1801, with his prime minister Mr. Pitt, the public

are indebted to Dr. Philpotts. The friends of civil and religious liberty must feel infinitely beholden to the doctor ; what his brother bigots may be I leave it to them to demonstrate. By reference to this correspondence it will be seen, that, in answer to the queries of his majesty, originating in the absurd scruples that had been insiduously raised in the royal mind, Lord Kenyon says, “ So long as the king’s supremacy, and the main fabric of the act of uniformity, the doctrine, discipline and government of the Church of England, are preserved as the national church, and the provision of its ministers kept as an appropriate fund, it seems that any ease given to the sectarists would not militate against the coronation oath or the act of union.” And to his opinion he adds, “ It is a general maxim that the supreme power of a state cannot limit itself.” This general maxim was, in itself, quite sufficient to shew the absurdity of the interpretation put upon the coronation oath ; but, backed as it now stands, by the opinion of so eminent a lawyer as Lord Kenyon, no further danger to the state is to be apprehended from this source of deception.

How far Mr. Pitt thought that Catholic Emancipation “ would be destructive to our civil and religious liberty,” the following extract of his Letter to the King will demonstrate. “ He trusts your majesty will believe that every principle of duty, gratitude, and attachment must make him look to your majesty’s ease and satisfaction, in preference to all considerations, but those arising from a sense of what, in his honest opinion, is due to the real interest of your majesty, and your dominions. Under the impression of that opinion, he has concurred with what appeared to be the prevailing sentiments of the majority of the cabinet, that the admission of the Catholics and Dissenters to offices ; and of the Catholics to parliament, from which latter the Dissen-

ters are now excluded, would, under certain conditions, to be specified, be highly advisable, with a view to the tranquillity and improvement of Ireland, and to the general interest of the United Kingdom. For himself he is, on full consideration, convinced the measure would be attended with no danger to the established church, or to the protestant interest in Great Britain or Ireland.”

Having thus disposed of humbug the second, I should, with this quotation, have taken leave of Lord Eldon, his anathemas against the Catholics, and his rancorous opposition to their claims, had those anathemas and that opposition been confined to the walls of parliament; but I take leave to follow him within other walls, where he has been no less conspicuous in the cause of intolerance.

I refer to those places where that society meet, called the Pitt-club; a society established out of pretended respect to that great man's memory; and where, in each successive year since his death, the noble Lord and his associates have invariably celebrated principles of exclusion and persecution, as emanating from him who sacrificed every personal consideration, rather than lend himself to the continuance of the one or the other!

A more audacious deception than this was never resorted to by fanatics of church or state in any period of our history! And from this club it is that emanates the charge of *idolatry* against the Catholics; and the anti-catholic champion, Mr. Peel, unblushingly comes forward to establish it upon the pretended ground of the second commandment being omitted in their church catechism. Now, what is the fact? They have an introductory catechism abridged for the use of children, in which none of the commandments, which are long, are given at full length; and in which the second commandment is omitted, as being an explanation of the

first; but in their catechism for adults, the second and all the other commandments are given at full length! Were it permitted to joke upon a subject of so serious a nature to six millions of our fellow subjects, I should be tempted to take a flight abroad with the ex-minister of the home department, and to carry him into the schools of his young idolaters, where the well merited discipline of the birch-rod might be administered with salutary effect. But, treating the subject with the gravity it imperiously demands, I do not hesitate to say, that the evidence produced, in support of the charge, is as contemptible as the charge itself is abominable. I must, however, acquit Mr. Peel of all premeditated intention of deception; for it cannot be supposed that he who has had the advantage of all the commandments at full length, since his childhood, should intentionally act in direct violation of one of them: and the ninth says, "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour." Lamentable is it to see talents and acquirements, calculated to render service to the country, become dangerous in the extreme to her best interest, by the contagion of that bigotry and fanaticism which, in the darker ages, disgraced all the Christian world, but, in their regeneration, seem to have marked the United Kingdom peculiarly for their own!

Another ground taken by Mr. Peel, to shew the Catholic claims to be inadmissible, is a supposed danger from their being admitted into Parliament, as he says, "By adroitness they might succeed in getting considerable influence in the House." I will meet this assertion by an authority that he cannot dispute, though it goes the whole length of shewing his supposition to be without a shadow of foundation. I shall again refer to Mr. Pitt's Letter to the King, before quoted; he writes thus: "That now the Union has taken place, and with the new provisions that

should make part of the plan, it could never give any such weight in office or in Parliament, either to Catholics or Dissenters, as could give them any new means (weré they so disposed) of attacking the establishment; that the grounds on which the laws of exlusion now remaining were founded, have long been narrowed, and are, since the Union, removed." Thus, then, does this great statesman, whose opinions have been the boasted guide of Mr. Peel's political life, assure us, not only that the pretended danger does not exist, but that the laws of exclusion ought no longer to have effect, the grounds on which they were founded being removed.

From the ex-minister I am naturally led to the ex-secretary, and brother-in-law to Mr. Peel, Mr. G. Dawson. This gentleman tells you that the Catholic claims should be opposed, because "The Catholic religion is unchanged, and so long as it shall continue so, so long it will be necessary to oppose its views;" in other words, that the Catholics still blindly adhere to those principles which, in giving their spiritual directory an unlimited power over them, rendered them dangerous to a Protestant state. As I have answered the assertions of Lord Eldon and Mr. Peel, so will I answer this of Mr. Dawson, by the authority of Mr. Pitt, who, in the letter which I have twice quoted, thus writes: "That those principles formerly held by the Catholics, which made them be considered as politically dangerous, have been for a course of time gradually declining; and among the higher orders particularly they have ceased to prevail." In 1801, then, according to Mr. Pitt, such a change had taken place in the Catholic religion, as to allow the professors of it to be received, without danger, into the bosom of the state; and when it is considered what has been the progress of intellect since that period, any thing short of intolerance would desist from offering

further objection to the measure. As I may not again have occasion to make reference either to Mr. Pitt, or his letter, I am led, in taking leave of them, to an observation respecting the publication of that letter. What the object might be I leave to the publisher to say; but nothing can well appear more strange than that the arguments used, and the statements made by Mr. Pitt, to convince his royal master of the necessity of Catholic Emancipation, should be given to the world twenty-six years afterwards by an Anti-catholic. The moment chosen for the publication was not less remarkable; it was that when the *soi-disant* disciples of Mr. Pitt, under the sanction of opinions daringly and falsely attributed to him, were poisoning the ears both of king and people! Such are the facts; and were I to avail myself of the cant of the whig-club, I might attribute to the "Heaven-born minister," the gift of divination, and insist that, aware his name would be taken in vain, he had prepared an antidote against the poison of his slanderers. The letter is invaluable, not only as an antidote to that poison, but as being that of a highly gifted minister, who had studied more closely the principles and conduct of the Irish Catholics than any that preceded or followed him; of a minister who, in the confidence inspired by his intimate knowledge of those principles, did not hesitate to hold out a promise to them of a full participation in the British constitution. Under such promise was accomplished the great measure of the Union. That it could not have otherwise been accomplished, was the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Cornwallis' declared opinion: after it had been effected, the pledge was unequivocally confirmed by his Majesty's speech from the throne, July, 1800. "This great measure (the Union), on the accomplishment of which my wishes have long been earnestly fixed, I consider as the happiest event of my

reign, being persuaded that nothing is so well calculated to extend to my Irish subjects a full participation in the blessings to be derived from the British constitution, and to consolidate the strength and power of the whole Empire.”

It is worthy of remark, that no scruples appear to have been renewed in the King's mind, as to the coronation oath, after his correspondence with Lord Kenyon, until the question of the union had been carried. The secret and perfidious intriguers about his person, were as greedy of the encrease of power and patronage to be transferred to England by the measure, as they were adverse to granting to Ireland the stipulated consideration for them. This plan of proceeding embraced two objects; to avail themselves of the promise of Emancipation in order to carry the question of the Union, and to prevent the fulfilment of such promise. In the interval between the carrying the measure and the performance of the promise, their plan was perfected; and that they acted in conformity to this odious policy, is most evident. In 1800, his Majesty, in the absence of all scruples, holds out to his Irish subjects a full participation in the blessings of the British constitutions; and in 1801, is assailed by them anew, and accepts Mr. Pitt's resignation rather than grant the promised participation! To these secret advisers of the King, then, we are indebted for this breach of national faith, for the resignation of the minister who had pledged that faith, and for the prolonged misery and distraction of the country betrayed by the pledge so broken.

Mr. G. Dawson urges another ground for opposition to the Catholic claims: “In the reign of James II,” he says, “the Catholic supremacy, and an attempt to establish it, was openly avowed; Protestant ministers were ejected from church preferments; Protestant lawyers were expelled the courts of jus-

tice; Protestant property was confiscated; and Protestants were included in lists of attainder by name.” And what conclusion can be drawn from such premises further than this; that, in the attempt of a despot and a bigot, who was a Catholic, to give supremacy to that church, atrocities were committed upon the Protestants who contested the point of supremacy? Had he continued his inflammatory rhapsody, and added, after the abdication of James II. the Protestant supremacy was established and openly avowed; Catholic ministers were ejected from church preferments; Catholic lawyers were expelled the courts of justice; Catholic property was confiscated; and Catholics, if not included in the lists of attainder by name, were attained *en masse* by every name that malice could engender;—another conclusion, and one equally well founded, would have been come to, that man, be his religion what it may, in abandoning himself to the violence peculiar to religious contention, becomes a monster. What more frightful—what more unjust, than the attempt to appropriate crimes common to man’s nature as exclusively those of a particular sect, and then to calumniate the whole sect, because fanatics have disgraced it! The crimes, which are industriously and insidiously represented as peculiar to the Catholic religion, are common to every religion connected with the state; and are produced by the influence of relative circumstances acting upon such connection. The persecuting Catholics in the reign of James II., and the persecuting Protestants that succeeded them, were, in their turn, influenced by the same circumstance, power combined with religious phrensy; and in proportion as that power is great, and that phrensy strong, are the frequency and atrocity of the crime. That more instances of crimes of this nature have occurred in the Church of Rome than in any other, is certainly the fact; and for these obvious reasons,

that for centuries, which included the dark ages, she had the exclusive power of persecuting; and, as the supreme mother of all the churches in the christian world, she must have been more sensibly affected by the revolt of her children, than those revolted children by the revolt of their's; and, consequently, her passions have been infinitely more frequently and violently assailed than those of any protesting establishment. But regarding her as she stands at this hour, reconciled to, and in friendly communication with, many of her revolted children, and with the conviction that three revolving centuries must give, that they are lost to her for ever, I cannot admit that the Church of Rome, under existing circumstances, is more exposed to fanaticism than any other church-and-state-establishment, and return to my position, that in proportion as the power is great, and the religious phrensy strong, are the frequency and atrocity of crime in all such religious establishments. To prove this fact, I will seek no other times than those we live in, and in which, according to the doctrine of the Anti-Catholics, the Protestant Church, "as established by law," is the emblem of perfect toleration. A notable proof of the truth of my assertion may be had in a comparison between the conduct of the intolerants at home, with regard to the Catholics restrained by the immediate presence of the law, and that of one of the ministers of the established church in our colonies, in the absence of its restraining power. That the Anti-Catholics should have kept themselves altogether within the letter of the law (I refer to the law of man, for of the law of God they seem to have lost sight altogether), and at the same time have indulged their evil disposition in every excess to which malignity could give birth without an infringement of it, clearly demonstrates that their intolerance knows no other bounds than those occasioned by their fear of the law! And

to what excess not immediately cognisable by law have they not run? Have they not industriously represented the Catholics as utterly unworthy the social compact? Have they not vilified their church, declared their religion to be idolatrous, and their bishops unworthy of belief on their oaths? Have not even the petitions of the Anti-Catholic Protestant Clergy to Parliament, been denounced by a member of the House of Commons, as containing "foul, monstrous, libellous, and seditious allegations?" In one word, has any thing been left unsaid or undone that could tend to establish a belief in those scandalous and daring falsehoods, "that the Irish Catholics were traitors to their King, perjured to their country, and idolaters to their God?" And by these diabolical means have they not succeeded in raising feelings against the Catholics, as cruel as unjust, and dangerous both to the oppressed and the oppressors? And if they have done all this, and even more than this, where, I will ask, would they have stopt in the absence of the law? To this query we may find a solution in the conduct of the established church intolerant in our island of Jamaica, to whom I have alluded. In Jamaica it appears that the law has slept the sleep of death, and the unshackled spirit of persecution has availed itself of its absence. That spirit ranges over a wide field, and visits alike the fettered slave and his humane deliverer, the Catholic and Dissenter. In the present instance, a Wesleyan Missionary was the object of its vengeance. Perpetrators of that bloody vengeance were wanted, and inflammatory slander and falsehood, unrestrained by law, failed not to produce them. I shall state the fact as given in the parliamentary debates, March, 13th, 1827.

"Dr. Lushington, in rising to move for certain papers relative to a transaction which had lately taken place in the island of Jamaica, referred to an

act of lawless violence, perpetrated at the instigation of a Clergyman of the Church of England, by an armed body, against an individual as helpless as he was inoffensive. The attack was attended by circumstances of peculiar barbarity. It had formerly been a practice in the colony that the militia should be called on duty in Christmas week, for the purpose of better securing the inhabitants against any danger that might possibly arise during this period, from the general relaxation allowed to the slaves. This practice had for some years fallen into desuetude, but within the last two years was revived; and, on Christmas day last, the first battalion of the militia of St. Ann's parish, Kingston, was called out for the purpose of preserving the peace. On that morning the corps was assembled in St. Ann's Church, where they were addressed from the pulpit by the Reverend Mr. Brydges, who had been recently chaplain to the Bishop of Jamaica. The house would learn with astonishment, that this gentleman had thought fit to address this body of men in arms, in language the most inflammatory, and openly inciting them to acts of hostility against unoffending individuals; thus desecrating the holy place in which he stood, by using it for the purpose of inciting his fellow subjects to acts of riot and bloodshed. That very night, while the white company of the regiment was on guard, the house of the Reverend Mr. Radcliffe, a Wesleyan Missionary, in which he and his wife and children resided, was violently attacked by a party armed with fire-arms, and fourteen balls were lodged within the walls. This attack did not appear to be the result of a momentary ebullition. The firing was continued at intervals, and it seemed to be in obedience to the word of command. During this atrocious outrage, no interference was made by the civil or military power, no assistance was offered to its unfortunate

and helpless objects; and it was not owing to any humanity on the part of the white company on guard, but rather through the interposition of Providence, that none of the bullets took effect, and that the party attacking had not to answer for the sacrifice of human life. After eulogising the services of the Wesleyan Missionaries, the learned gentleman said, that the house would be surprised to hear, that on the Sunday after this outrage, the reverend gentleman mounted the pulpit and repeated the same sermon. This Mr. Brydges had first come into notice by a scurrilous pamphlet upon Mr. Wilberforce, to whom he applied the following :

“ Mel in ore, verba lactis
Fel in corde, fraus in actis.”

“ *After this he was promoted to the Rectory of the parish of St. Ann, and soon after appointed chaplain to the Bishop of Jamaica; but he rejoiced to say, after what had happened, that he had ceased to be chaplain to his Lordship before this took place. Colonel Cox had, he understood, instituted an enquiry into the proceedings of Christmas day, and he trusted it would be more successful than the orders and proclamations of General Ward in Barbadoes.*” It will not be necessary, however, to travel any further; my position stands established by the fact I have cited, leaving it to General Ward to deal with the intolerants in Barbadoes. I take leave to offer to those of the United Kingdom, the fire and faggot Protestants of Jamaica, as a complete refutation of all their assertions tending to fix a spirit of persecution, as being exclusively characteristic of the Catholic religion; and under the persuasion that the recollection of the atrocities committed by the reverend Rector of St. Ann, and the white company, may prove a talisman against all future attempts to poison your minds by a repetition of the falsehood, I pass to other matter.

The actual state of Ireland, according to Mr. G. Dawson, is another ground for opposing Catholic Emancipation: he thus alludes to it, "No man with a heart in his breast could behold the aristocracy of the land bewildered and terrified by the extinction of all respect; the gentry wholly supplanted; the merchants and professional men converted into abettors of political violence; the peasantry ready to rush into any excesses;—no man could see such a state of things without feelings of sorrow and regret." I have again to complain of Mr. Dawson for stopping short; he certainly ought to have added, or *of indignation against those who have produced it*. Participating in that indignation, I ask, from whence arises this almost unheard of accumulation of evil? The answer is plain; from that religious and political conflict known only to Ireland, fostered by an unjust and mischievous Penal Code, and pushed to madness by individuals still more unjust and mischievous. By persecuting the Catholics, and alarming the Protestants, the feelings of both have been irritated, and a demonium created in the country: and this demonium it is that is offered as a new argument against Catholic Emancipation! As a tree is known by its fruit, so is a good and bad government by the state of the governed; and adopting Mr. G. Dawson's picture of Ireland as she is, it must be admitted, upon his own shewing, that the government of that country has been infinitely worse than any other in the civilized world. It is another thing, however, to admit, that those who have thus governed it should be allowed the result of their abominable work as an argument against granting relief to the people whom they have so cruelly lacerated. No one, uninfluenced by passion and prejudice, could tolerate the continuance of a system that has produced such a state of things, much less adopt, as a remedy for the evil, coercion

and persecution, though presented in the garb of "firmness and decision" by Mr. Peel and his adherents. These words, like the horizon, are different according to the point from which they are viewed; and in order to ascertain their precise meaning in the present instance, reference must be had to the occurrences in Ireland during the period that the ex-minister of the home-department, and his ex-secretary, cut so distinguished a figure there. In order to do them strict justice, and that their deeds may be fairly weighed in the balance, I will take upon me to shew what the actual feeling and state of Ireland were a very few years ago; so that by a comparison between the past and the present, for which we have the secretary's authority, the things that are Cæsar's will be rendered unto Cæsar!" For this purpose I shall refer to the year 1820, when his present majesty, in graciously honouring Ireland with his presence, gave no unequivocal proof of his sentiments towards that country. That mark of favour and distinction was great, but infinitely more flattering still were the professions of his majesty, when surrounded by tens of thousands of her citizens, and the addresses to them that emanated from the royal chamber, and teemed with promise of happiness to the land, restored to new life by the presence of its sovereign. Who is there that will dare to say that his majesty did not then feel that his Irish subjects were second to none in their attachment to their King and country, and that they were entitled to "a full participation in the blessings to be derived from the British constitution," as held out to them by his royal father? But if there be such sceptics, I would refer them to the letter of Lord Sidmouth, written by command of his majesty, when removed from the vortex of enthusiastic loyalty, and when time had allowed of reflection for maturer judgment. How that letter was understood and felt in Ireland, the

universal burst of gratitude, which was its answer, clearly shews. It was hailed as the star in the east, the harbinger of salvation, and they fell down and worshipped! The ebullitions of joy were excessive, and too violent to last; they were soon succeeded by the calmer feelings of confidence, loyalty, and peace. Such was the effect of his majesty's visit to Ireland, and of the letter subsequently written by his command. The ferocity of the ultra Protestants stood in check; the liberal Protestants were delighted, and the Catholic population grateful and loyal; the voice of dissention had ceased, and all was still. In 1820, then, nothing appears to have been wanting to the prosperity and happiness of the United Kingdom, as far as Ireland was concerned, but the realising those promises contained in the letter of Lord Sidmouth. In what manner his majesty's ministers have realised such promises, the present state of Ireland may shew; but there remains for me to shew how all the good effects attendant upon his majesty's visit to that country have been done away; how the confidence it had inspired has been destroyed, peace turned to discord, and loyalty outraged. Nothing may be better calculated to demonstrate the extent and violence of that spirit of intolerance industriously instilled by the bigots of England into the bosoms of the ultra Protestants, the Orangemen of Ireland, than the outrage that proved the forerunner of all the horrors that have been brought upon that devoted country since the above period: an outrage that may justly stamp the character of men who, claiming to themselves an exclusive loyalty, vomit out their bile in epithets of rebel and traitor against all others. During the King's stay in Dublin, his majesty took every opportunity to make known his royal pleasure that all religious dissention should cease: to the Orange party he signified his will, that the inflammatory toasts drank at their meetings should no longer be

given ; and, in graciously receiving the Catholic in common with the Protestant bishops, made it manifest to the whole country, that his loyal subjects, without distinction of religion, were to be equally respected.

The appointment of the present Lord Lieutenant, the Marquis of Wellesley, highly gifted by talent and distinguished by his attachment to civil and religious liberty, was also a proof, not less conclusive, of such his royal will. But that infernal spirit, that mocks at holy writ, can have little regret for royal mandate. It is, therefore, no matter of wonder that the king should not long have left the country, before the Orangemen, impatient of the temporary restraint his presence and precepts had occasioned them, again sounded the tocsin of animosity. The infernal spirit of intolerance broke out with renovated violence : in the ebullition of its fury, in the absence of Majesty, it assailed its representative ; and the life of the Lord Lieutenant was endangered in the public theatre ! The actors in this rebellious tumult were perfectly known ; it was beyond the reach of fraud or falsehood to implicate the Catholics in its infamy. The Orange party, therefore, stood for once convicted : but for the punishment that followed such conviction, I refer you to the ex-minister of the home department, and his secretary ! The representative of Majesty having escaped from this burst of intolerance, that evil spirit, assuming a more measured step, sought other victims ; and the Catholic bishops were the next objects of its vengeance. The exemplary lives of these dignitaries of the church affording no ground of accusation, they were assailed upon the score of opinion : not of opinion given, but of an opinion *said* to be entertained ; and by whom said to be entertained ? by their implacable enemies, the ultra-protestants. That no such opinions were entertained by them,

the Catholic bishops offered to testify by oath. And what do the ultras? Why, rather than abandon their unprecedented accusation, they denounce them as unworthy of belief upon oath! and this body of reverend men, high in station, just and loyal in deed and word, respected by their king, and revered by six millions of his subjects, are collectively and individually arraigned by these calumnious fanatics, as being unfit for civilised society, as perjured to their God, and degraded amongst men! After this, no less novel than infamous attack upon the Catholic prelates, it could not be expected that the inferior clergy should escape the shafts of calumny. They, like their bishops, were industriously represented, not only as being individually and collectively unworthy the social compact, but as infecting, in the language of Mr. Dawson, the land they lived in "with their pestilential influence." But malice and calumny, which prove too often fatal when directed against individuals, are apt to recoil upon those, who resort to such weapons against respected and respectable orders in society; and the intolerants, aware of this, followed up this first attack by an extended warfare. Having vilified the ministers, they next vilify their church; and having, as they thought, succeeded in exasperating both shepherd and flock, they take the field with the book of peace in their hand, and break the peace of every town, village, and hamlet, by their challenges to theological contention! Fortunately for the cause of humanity, the precepts of that book were very generally acted upon by the Catholic clergy, or its leaves might eventually have been defiled by blood. The challenges of the crusaders were not accepted; and as a forbearance so honourable to the Catholic clergy, as men and Christians, should, in common justice to them, be

put beyond the reach of contradiction, I annex part of a speech made by Lord Farnham, one of the most illustrious champions of the crusade. His Lordship says, "That the whole efforts of the Romish priesthood went to expel the Bible from all parts of the land, and to prevent the spread of moral and intellectual education; that every challenge given to them had been refused, and that, in consequence, private conferences with the people were resorted to; and that the whole object of the Catholics was to subvert the established church." In availing myself of his Lordship's authority, as to the fact of the challenges being altogether refused, I am naturally led to the consequences of such refusal; the private conferences held by the crusaders with the Romish people. The chiefs having refused to quit their citadel, and to give battle in the open field, their troops are to be secretly tampered with, and treachery is to succeed to violence. In this case, as in all others, where that vile engine is resorted to, it is accompanied by an engine no less vile, calumny;—in the calumniated character of the betrayed is sought a justification for the treason! Two remarkable specimens of this auxiliary attack are to be found in the short extract from his Lordship's speech, "The whole efforts of the Romish priesthood," he says, "went to expel the Bible from all parts of the land, and to prevent the spread of moral and intellectual education." And how does he support—how does he follow up this unqualified assertion? Why, by telling us that they refused every challenge, and consequently left the crusaders with their Bibles in undisputed possession of the arena. The second specimen, and one still more remarkable, presents itself in his Lordship's closing charge where he says, "that the whole object of the Catholics was to subvert the esta-

blished church." Was ever charge like this so timed? At the very moment the Catholic church is besieged by the crusaders, and treachery is brought into action in aid of disappointed violence; the Romish priesthood declining religious contention, and their people exposed to secret conferences with their enemies, does the noble Lord give us to understand, that it was the Catholic church that was in battle array against that established by law! Whether the noble Lord has taken leave of his senses, or whether he supposes that you may have taken leave of your's, may be a matter of doubt; but there can be no doubt that from one or other of these causes has originated his attempt at proving black to be white, in substituting the Protestant church for the Catholic, and white to be black, in changing the besieged into besiegers. But this is not, all according to the crusaders: it is not only the Protestant church that is assailed, but the lives and properties of the Protestants are also in jeopardy. "As to oppression, who are in reality the oppressed? The Roman Catholics? Certainly not! No, the Protestants, the poor persecuted Protestants, who are kept in a state of perpetual terror for their lives and properties." Of the nature of that terror an idea may be readily formed, when a Protestant Irishman, Mr. G. Dawson, has the daring thus publicly to arraign his Catholic countrymen as assassins and robbers! However monstrous, wild, and dangerous these attacks, still they are not unprecedented; and the instigators of the crusade of the present day may seek an excuse in similar conduct in those that have preceded them.

Men are never persecuted for religious opinion till judgment has given place to prejudice; and to render a people unjust to Saracen or Catholic, it is necessary that they be calumniated. In the present instance, two distinct methods are acted upon for the

purpose of exciting unjust feelings towards the Catholics ; the one, direct calumnious libel against the living ; the other, defamation of the living through the medium of the dead. The first is the weapon of the younger and more daring enthusiasts ; the latter of the more wily, and the one most frequently wielded by the intolerant members of church and law.

Of the first I have already offered specimens ; I will now proceed to the second. It consists in a reference to days long passed, when, in the struggle for supremacy, the Catholics prevailed and the Protestants were persecuted. Detailed accounts of the cruelties of the one and the sufferings of the other are gone into ; the fires of passed centuries blaze anew : the victims are again tied to the stake ; the passions are inflated ; the past becomes the present, and when the object is attained, and the feelings of horror that belong to the persecuting Catholics of old, are fastened upon the persecuted Catholics of Ireland, the garb of benevolence is assumed under some such cant as, God forbid that I should attribute the spirit of the seventeenth to the Catholics of the nineteenth century!

Such are the arts that are in practice to induce you to lend your countenance to a persecution, disgraceful to the reformed church, and doubly so to the country that tolerates it ! That the anti-catholic Protestant clergy, when the question is next agitated, will resort to the same scandalous means of obtaining signatures to petitions against the Emancipation of the Catholics, which they have resorted to before, there is every reason to expect : to expose those means is my next object.

For this purpose I shall take advantage of a statement of Lord Darnley's, in the House of Lords, March 22, 1827 : " As to the number of petitions,"

said his Lordship, “ against the measure from the county of Kent, he was not at all surprised that so many had been presented, for nothing could be easier than the way in which they were got up. It was ‘as easy as lying.’ A paper was drawn up containing the usual common places about church, state, and constitution, with a few allusions, perhaps, to the pope, the pretender, bloody Mary, and Guy Fawkes; and this document was carried about by the clergyman of the parish, who prevailed upon every body that could write to sign it. In one instance the clergyman of the parish (Cuxton), charged with a petition of this description, happened to take it, in the first instance, to an honest tenant of his (Lord Darnley’s) who occupied four or five hundred acres of land. The farmer said it might be all very right, but he never signed any thing that he did not understand. ‘ Not sign it,’ exclaimed the clergyman, ‘ why surely you won’t suffer the bloody Papists to get power into their hands, and burn Protestants at the stake again?’ The farmer persisted in his refusal; and was equally impracticable when he wished him to get his wife and children to sign it. The clergyman was at last obliged to go into some neighbouring brick yards, and get the petition signed by as many labourers as could write. It was absolutely absurd to pay any attention to petitions got up in this manner.”

Though I perfectly agree with his Lordship as to the absurdity of attaching importance to petitions so got up, still, as much pretended importance is given to them, and arguments established upon them, as if they spoke the sense of the majority of the nation, it would be fortunate if, exposing the means used to get them up, they could not be got up at all. Under that impression, it is, that I shall offer a word or two relative to the proceedings of these reverend gentlemen, and take the pastor of Cuxton for their proto-

type. Of all cant I frankly and freely acquit him ; he does not mask his purpose, but serves himself boldly of the bloody Mary as his fire-brand for kindling a spirit of intolerance in the bosoms of his parishioners. In the hands of a practised incendiary this weapon does execution ; even the dull clay of the brickmakers caught the flame, and the petition was signed against the persecuted Irish of the nineteenth century, to prevent the bloody English of the seventeenth from rising from their graves, and burning the brickmakers instead of the bricks ! The reverend gentlemen may glory in their success ; but how they contrive to reconcile such conduct with their calling, I am totally unable to conjecture. Certain I am that they can find no justification for it in that book, whose precepts it is their peculiar duty to expound and propagate. If, however, reflection should bring them back to a sense of their duty, and prompt them to promote peace rather than discord amongst men, they will naturally become more cautious in their references to fire and faggot : they will leave the odium of the Catholic fires in Smithfield on those who lighted them, and, should long habit have rendered reference to fire indispensable, they will exemplify the danger of a spirit of intolerance to their Protestant flocks, by the Protestant fires of Bloomsbury and Holborn of the days we have lived in ! Having myself been a witness of those fires, and of the infernal spirit that made them blaze in 1780, it is with no common feeling of indignation that I now witness this attempt to renew that spirit : nor can I express my astonishment, that Protestants of sound understanding should be so far blinded by their prejudices, as to travel back to the horrors of the reign of Mary, and urge them as demonstrative of the Catholics being unworthy the social compact, when a similar reference to those in the reign of George III. must lead to the same con-

clusion against the Protestants. But, to revile the one or the other church establishment, because bigots and fanatics belonging to them have acted like monsters and disgraced both, can only be exceeded in weakness and wickedness by blasphemy against God, because ministers of those churches have lost sight of their duty.

Another argument made use of against Catholic Emancipation merits particular notice: it is said to be unnecessary, inasmuch as measures have been taken for converting the Catholics to the Protestant faith. However wild the idea of satisfying the claims of six millions of Catholics by a promise of converting them, not less wild is that of thinking it possible to effect their conversion if they consented to wait the experiment. Under the supposition of such consent, what would be the probable result? Admitting the Catholics to be converted at the rate of one an hour (which is rather an extravagant allowance, as a third of those hours must be dedicated to sleep) it would give a total of 8,760 in the year, to which add 1,240 to meet any great casualties of success, and you have the round number of ten thousand per annum; and, consequently, in a century that of a million. In one hundred years a sixth part of the work only will be accomplished! This might stagger any one but an enthusiast; but they abound; and it is but fair to consider their view of the subject. For this purpose I shall again refer to the debate of the 16th of March in the House of Lords, and profit of what Lord Roden says upon the conversion of the Catholics. "That great work has been censured by persons in other places, and in high authority, as a mere chimera; I think differently, my Lords; my sincere conviction is, that its success is the work of heaven, the pure result of the preaching the word of God, and the operation of his Divine Spirit." Allowing the noble senator to profit to the full extent

of his inspiration, that miracles are about to be renewed, and that millions of men going to their rest as Catholics may awake to a new light, still the hopes of the crusaders might not be altogether realized. A second miracle is necessary to their purpose; they must awake members of the church as established by law, or the cause of intolerance might be a loser rather than a gainer; for as the cry for Emancipation became feeble, that against the Test Act would become strong; a circumstance altogether inimical to the plans of the intolerants, who, by availing themselves of the prejudices of the different sects against each other, have hitherto succeeded in persecuting them all! As this plan of conversion is the only one proposed by the Anti-Catholics for tranquillizing Ireland, I am led to give more attention to its promised result than it otherwise would have been entitled to.

In the debates of the House of Commons of the 2nd of March, 1827, Mr. Leslie Foster spoke as follows: "He would ask what was the state of Ireland at present as contrasted with its condition twenty years ago? At that period, the mass of the Roman Catholic population were upon an equality, in point of information, with that of the south of Europe at present. The Scriptures were then totally unknown to the lower classes, and diffused but partially even amongst the superior orders. There were many of them, very many, who had never seen a bible. Since that time a spirit, so much misrepresented, had arisen; he meant that for the moral improvement of the people, by the propagation of the Scriptures, and the result of that spirit was most beneficial. The House might differ from him, but upon the authority of his majesty's commissioners he would state, that there were now six thousand schools in which the Scriptures were read. Within that period, too, one million copies of the Scriptures had been distributed."

That very many of the Catholics in Ireland had never seen a bible twenty years ago is highly probable ; but that the Scriptures were perfectly unknown to them at that period is not only improbable, but impossible, as the Catholic priests were in the habit then, as they are now, of expounding them to their parishioners. With regard to the alleged ignorance of the superior orders of Catholics at the time alluded to, I shall only say that, judging from those whose acquaintance I had the advantage of at the time in question, I believe them to have been as enlightened as those of any other country, or of any other religion. From this disputed state of Ireland, twenty years ago, I come to its present state, as represented by this learned legislator. A million of bibles in the country, and six thousand schools in which they are read ! After admitting the facts, and giving to those who sent the bibles and established the schools all possible credit for their good intentions, I find myself still at issue with the learned legislator as to his claim of credit for “ the most beneficial results.” The bibles and the schools are neither more nor less than the agents in the great work of conversion ; “ the moral improvement of the people is the promised result,” and until that is effected, he can establish no claim beyond that of good intention. That the means adopted may produce the result promised every friend to humanity might wish ; but that they will produce it, no one, save an enthusiast, can believe.

The chief ground of my own incredulity, is my adherence to a doctrine which, I think, cannot well be disputed,—that the science of morality and legislation is one and the same ; and, consequently, that the wide or narrow spread of morality in a state, depends upon a good or bad legislation ; the one and the other alike subject to the influence of a good or bad administration. By a reference to

history, and a comparative view of different periods, it will be ascertained, that indifferent laws judiciously administered, are generally attended with a more salutary effect, than wiser laws badly administered: but the search for a period of wide extended morality, in the absence of good legislation and good administration, is upon a par with the search for the philosopher's stone, altogether fruitless. With the conviction, then, that extended morality can alone be had by wise laws with a good administration of them, it is impossible for me to lend myself to the delusive promise of that beneficial result being about to be realised, through a medium totally unconnected with the one or the other. The land of promise is Ireland; but the promise is made in England, and given in the midst of her capital, where, during the last thirty years, the Bible has been more diffusely distributed, more schools established for the reading it, and its moral doctrines more foully and frequently violated, than in any capital in the Christian world, during the same period!

With this example before his eyes, the learned legislator holds steadfast to his faith, and complains of what he terms misrepresentation of the spirit that moved to the undertaking. Whatever the moving spirit might be, that the acting spirit has assumed a very decided character a reference to the Waterford newspaper gives ample testimony. "The compulsory system of reading the Bible, adopted by the Ladies' Gaol Committee in Waterford, according to the instruction of Mrs. Fry, has been represented by the prisoners as an intolerable grievance to the board of superintendence of the gaol. This board met on Monday, and a resolution was passed of no longer permitting the ladies to visit the prisoners, for the purpose of affording that instruction, for which the laws of the country have pro-

vided authorised instructors." With regard to the propriety of ladies, in or out of committee, passing their time in gaols, or other receptacles of the licentious and profligate, I leave it to their fathers, husbands, and brothers to decide. I will, however, take the occasion to state that, when the spirit moved some of the ladies of the United Kingdom to visit the prison of the Castello Sant' Angelo at Rome, when the renowned and robust robber *Barbone*, was a prisoner within its walls, *the ignorance of the South of Europe* raised so loud a cry of *scandal*, that in that instance, as in the present, the prison gates were ordered to be shut against them! The intemperate zeal on the part of the well educated of the gentle sex (for such, as ladies, they must be held to be) that led to compulsory measures too intolerable to be borne, leads one to ask what description of violence is likely to be resorted to by the ruder and less cultivated members of the crusade, the male enthusiasts? and that, too, where there are no bolts to shut them out; and no board of superintendence to check their measures of compulsion?

Having brought forward this fact, and started a question that naturally arises from it, and which a moment's reflection may answer, I return to the subject of misrepresentation. At the very moment of complaining of the misrepresentation of others, Mr. L. Foster lays himself open to a similar charge, by his assertion, that the Catholics of the South of Europe at this day were in that state of profound ignorance which he attributes to the mass of Irish Catholics twenty years ago. A ten years' residence in the country to which he alludes enables me to say, that he is most entirely mistaken in such his idea; and I do not hesitate to throw the gauntlet to Mr. Foster, and to challenge him to shew, that the Catholic population of the South of Europe is a less enlightened population, than that of Ireland at the

present day, giving him all the advantage of his million of Bibles, and six thousand schools for the reading them.

Were I disposed to cite political events, I should have no difficulty in shewing that the South of Europe is not only enlightened, but that it would have carried its light into effect, had it not been betrayed by those of greater pretensions, but shewing no light and much treachery upon the occasions alluded to. If it be meant that not reading the Bible establishes the fact against this part of Europe, it is a fact that bears equally upon all the Catholics in the world: they hold it to be wiser and better, that the reading of the minister be the reading of the flock, rather than that the flock should read each after his own manner. It is not that they cannot read the word, but that it is interpreted to them according to the reading of those who are supposed better to understand it. Whether the reading or the interpreting be best, wiser men than Mr. Foster and myself have differed: but the land I live in, Tuscany, is a striking and conclusive proof, that the reading the Bible is not necessary to the establishment of good government, of which morality is an integral part. Never did the sun rise upon a happier state than that of Catholic Tuscany; nor ever did it rise on one more conscious or more deserving of its happiness. Religion is here seen in the gentleness natural to it when divested of power, and when undisturbed by persecution. An affluent, cheerful, and obliging population speak the mildness and wisdom of the laws; and the rare occurrence of crime, their sufficiency under good administration. It is the benevolent asylum of the persecuted, and the favourite residence of the affluent foreigner. Neither religion nor political prejudices disturb the peace of the social compact. Distinctions and exclusions are unknown; the same law and tribunals are common

to all men. Education is the work of government ; its system one of an enlightened policy ; children are taught obedience and how to reason ; and youth to demonstrate that reason by moral action ; the precepts of the gospel are enforced to confirm an active compliance with the moral will of the Creator, made manifest to man by his reasoning faculty. Such is the education, such the state, and such the government of Tuscany. The wise, the vigilant, and powerful grand duke Leopold, laid the foundation of the work and perfected the edifice. His reign has been aptly described by an English traveller, "as philosophy working for the people." According to the language of the crusaders, it would have been the working of the Holy Spirit ; but, whether of philosophy or spirit, it was Catholic ; for such was the illustrious son of an emperor, the wise Leopold, who having rendered a people worthy of himself lived in their bosom. His successor and son, Ferdinand the Seventh, followed his glorious example ; and the living virtues of their subjects give an unfaded lustre to their tombs. The present Grand Duke promises to be worthy of his predecessors, and lives in the full tide of that sentiment of respectful affection which talent and power benevolently directed seldom fail to inspire. Very many of my countrymen, who have seen him in the midst of his people, can bear me witness to the nature of that affection. Not even the buoyant festivities of the carnival ever lead to an encroachment upon the respect that is born him. Encircled by thousands of all ranks, in the full career of gaiety, he is as secure from all breach of decorum as in his palace. It is for Mr. Foster to point out this "mass of Catholic ignorance," in the South of Europe ; I have cited a mass of Catholic civilisation there, that does honour to humanity, and fully establishes my position, that

the profession of the Catholic faith is no bar to the perfecting the social compact.

The contrast between the happy Catholics of Tuscany and their persecuted brethren in Ireland cannot be contemplated without feelings, that render a sudden transition from the one to the other somewhat imprudent. The crusaders have already had my assurance of a belief in their good intentions; but I cannot do otherwise than dread the result of their religious enthusiasm, as directed against the Catholics of Ireland: the more so, as a dreadful example of what that enthusiasm is capable has recently been given upon the Continent. In the Canton of Zurich, in Switzerland, one of the sects branching out of the reformed church, in *their* reading of the Scriptures, were led into a delusive and melancholy belief that the crucifying the body was necessary to the salvation of the soul. A zealous disciple of the new faith, a young woman of sixteen, under the supposed influence of the Holy Spirit, offered herself for crucifixion. The cross was raised by the enthusiasts, the willing victim extended and nailed upon it, and there suffered to remain till death closed her eyes, amidst cries of fanatic transport! In vain did the enthusiasts plead that it was the work of heaven; the government of Zurich thought differently, and sent them to prison; not to preach their opinions, but to answer for their crime!

I shall now endeavour to shew the existing state of the Protestants and Catholics, with regard to each other, on the Continent, and, for this purpose, shall refer to the States in Germany. If there is any country in the world that could stand excused, at this enlightened period, for religious prejudices and animosities, it would be Germany. The dreadful effects of the one and the other have no where been so severely felt, or for so long a continuance. For

thirty successive years Germany was visited by a war of opinion, and Protestant and Catholic blood never ceased to flow during that long period. Historical records of all the cruelties committed by the one and the other sect are not wanting; and many of the Protestant and Catholic families of the present day would have little difficulty in proving acts of disgraceful hostility on the one part and the other. Nowhere is there such food for religious animosity; and nowhere does there exist a more perfect religious harmony; both religions are alike respected; and religious opinions are no bar to any social connection. In many instances the prayers of Catholics and Protestants are offered up successively in the same church; and no church is defiled by religious dissention! During the continuance of "the thirty years war" of opinion, infinite were the sufferings of the German States: not less remarkable were the blessings entailed upon them by its termination. During revolving generations the religious peace and general good will, established by the treaty of Westphalia, have never been interrupted. That treaty, in its reference to religion, was dictated by wisdom, humanity, and justice, and that part of it should be written in letters of gold, as applicable to all times, states, and conditions of men, and as offering the only remedy for the wounds inflicted by fanaticism, and the only shield against the return of the monster. It is in substance as follows: That every person shall be permitted the free exercise of the Christian religion after the Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist, or any other persuasion or manner. And that no person professing other religion than that predominant in the country where he lives, shall cease in any manner to enjoy the rights of citizen in their fullest extent. This is the balm that healed the wounds of lacerated Germany and, in giving equality of civil and religious rights, perfected its social

union. The enlightened politicians who established the treaty of Westphalia were aware that men's actions alone should be made subject to the laws; that their religion was matter of simple opinion, and that every attempt to control opinion was as absurd as mischievous.

Historical reference to the different governments of the German states, during the two last centuries, clearly demonstrates, that an equality in civil and religious rights assures religious harmony; but confining myself to the last half century, and to those particular states, I shall be enabled to shew that every idea of danger to the United Kingdom, from the Emancipation of the Catholics, must be altogether chimerical; and that an equality of rights could alone secure an equality of attachment to the government.

Saxony has a Catholic king, and the predominant religion is Protestant. The late king Frederick Augustus reigned with an equal hand over his subjects for half a century. Mild as his religion was his government; insensibly he repaired the disasters of the seven years' war, and gave forty years of happiness and a constitution to his people; he died the object of their love and of the veneration of Europe. The reigning king, Anthony, his brother, influenced by the same benevolent principles, perpetuates the happiness of the Saxons. His queen, a sister to the emperor of Austria, a Catholic not less devout than illustrious, has Protestants as well as Catholics immediately about her person as ladies in waiting. *Baden* has a Protestant grand duke, and the predominant religion is Protestant; but his Catholic subjects have never had cause to complain of Protestant influence; and the constitution now established in the state, is free from every stain of odious exclusion. *Bavaria* has a Catholic king, and the predominant religion Catholic, but nowhere are the

Protestants in a more perfect enjoyment of all their rights. Maximilian Joseph, the late king, gave a constitution to his subjects; he lived in every Catholic and Protestant heart, and was lamented as a common father. The present king, Louis, is also a Catholic, and his Protestant and Catholic subjects are in the undisturbed enjoyment of their rights: his queen is a Protestant, as is the queen dowager. Thus, in these enlightened states, does religious harmony spread its divine influence alike over the prince and the peasant; and the Catholic and Protestant prayers of the palace and the cottage unite as they ascend to heaven.

The first reference I have made is to a Catholic Prince, and the predominant religion, Protestant. The second to a Protestant Prince, and the predominant religion Protestant. The third to a Catholic Prince, and the predominant religion Catholic. And under all and each of these circumstances, civil and religious liberty has remained undisturbed: attachment to the state unimpaired; and the union of all its members progressively consolidated by new bonds of social connection! Internal peace is absolutely essential to the happiness and prosperity of every society; and an equality of rights can alone give that peace; the Germans have acted upon that principle for centuries, and that peace remains undisturbed.

With this example before their eyes, had not the revolutionary contentions in England been of a religious character, we should not have had British Statesmen of the nineteenth century declaiming against equality of rights, the power of the Pope, and the machinations of the Jesuits. The church naturally appropriated to itself part of the spoils of all religious victories. Some of her members were introduced into one branch of the legislature; and the establishment itself was declared that of the law:

two circumstances that have long infected and continue to infect the state with prejudices that have been banished the rest of Europe. The advance of reason, even in Spain, has been such as to put down the Inquisition; whilst in England the church "as established by law," has checked the progress of liberal and enlightened sentiments, and continues to hold six millions of people under the torture of civil and religious persecution. What must the enlightened Germans think of the bulls and papal indulgences that, according to Mr. Peel, were to endanger the British Empire if its Catholic subjects were put upon a footing with those of Germany? What of Lord Colchester's "Jesuit drops," prepared at Naples, distilled at Rome, double distilled at Paris, and puffed off in London as anti-Catholic incomparables. They must, doubtless, think Mr. Peel wilder, if not more vicious, than his bulls, and in great need of the indulgences himself; and as to Lord Colchester's specific, that not a more mischievous mixture was ever offered by quack to the gaping multitude. There is something incomprehensible in the extent to which even enlightened minds may be obscured by the spirit of intolerance; and it is a melancholy fact that the blindness it occasions is frequently as pernicious as crime itself. Let the demons of danger and spreaders of alarm be asked, which of the German states have been disturbed by the bulls and indulgences of the pope, or by the machinations of the Jesuits? What Catholic prince has been led by them to make invidious distinctions in favour of his Catholic subjects? What Catholic subjects to withdraw their allegiance or affection from their Protestant prince? What Catholic body to encroach upon Protestant rights? And if they cannot shew that the tranquillity of Germany has been so disturbed, let them shew if they can, why equal rights are not to produce religious harmony,

and religious harmony, peace, and security in the British empire as in Germany; or let them hold their peace for ever.

Whilst good legislation has given to Germany religious peace for the last two hundred years, bad legislation has continued religious discord to the British empire! The German states, in their superior policy, adopted the only remedy for religious dissension: no arbitrary measures were there resorted to: personal and intellectual liberty was assured; and the unchained mind, allowed scope to extend and communicate its new feelings, banished every odious distinction, and the bond of peace was perfected; whilst England, in her thirst for Protestant ascendancy, lost sight alike of christian charity and sound policy, and, by new lines of odious distinction, continued the reign of discord from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century. To assure such ascendancy, the reformed church, the offspring of reason, became the adopted child of the law, and by such adoption its character was totally changed. From this connection between church and state, religious persecutions have invariably resulted. To this connection they may be traced through all their ramifications and degrees, from the Inquisition in Spain to the Crusaders in Ireland. In Germany you may look for them in vain: the wise and benevolent negotiators of the treaty of Westphalia, aware that toleration was no other than the mask of intolerance, dashed the poisoned cup of power alike from the lips of every religion, and restored them all to their characteristic mildness. In common with all unnatural connections, that between the church and state in England appears to have given any thing rather than stability to the one or the other. The loud and active advocates of Protestant ascendancy see danger to the *state* in an offspring of this connection, "the Catholic Association;" and as to the

church, if they are to be credited, it is seldom, if ever, out of danger. In seventeen hundred and eighty, their cry of danger to this law church was so loud, that the "no popery" fires were made to blaze, and the establishment miraculously saved. Since that period the same cry of danger, but not so loud, has been renewed as often as the Catholics have renewed their prayers for Emancipation, and so often has it been miraculously saved without any fires at all.

Two conclusions arise from these premises; the first, that no fires were necessary to the salvation of the law church in seventeen hundred and eighty: the second, that if it be in danger it may not be so from the Catholics. This second conclusion leads to a query. If there be danger to the church, where is it, and what is it? "The house divided against itself shall surely fall," says the Gospel, and the truth of that assertion will not be disputed: there can be little difficulty then in shewing where and what that danger is; or little doubt, if the danger be increased according to the number of divisions in the house, that never church was in more imminent danger.

The history of the world does not offer an example of any flock having, in such numbers, abandoned their original fold and dispersed themselves under such a variety of new shepherds. Neither one nor other of these facts, however, can excite wonder, when it is considered that millions of Bibles have been distributed amongst them and read, and that, out of millions of readers, a great multitude have become interpreters of the word, each after his own manner. Matter of minor consideration may also have had its effect; and the danger may have been somewhat augmented by the new order of things, under which the lay ladies and gentlemen are become the preachers of the word, whilst the established clergy, in violation of it, are stirring up strife by

harangues about bloody Queen Mary. The latter are opposing themselves, with all their might, to a phantom enemy, which their intolerance may eventually render substantial ! All this is the result of “ a church established by law ;” and a remarkable instance of the sway that power, when connected with religion, invariably holds over the human mind, offers itself in the conduct of the *old* and *new* Dissenters, with regard to Catholic Emancipation : a very great majority of the old, purified by time from its baneful influence, are favorable to their claims ; whilst a majority of the new, clinging to what they have recently been, and unmindful of what they are, decidedly oppose them : *ed immitiores quia toleraverant.*

In the real dangers to the law church the Catholics have no part, nor will any arise to it from them, unless it be from their being persecuted. A cruel and prolonged persecution of them has already disgusted all the liberal Protestants of the United Kingdom, and determined those of Ireland to make common cause with their Catholic brethren. Hence, “ the Catholic Association,” an unruly child perhaps, and impatient of the rod, but not less the legitimate child of Protestant ascendancy. If there be danger to the state in that association, that danger is the work of intolerance. The weak and arrogant counsels that visited the infant and defenceless capital of the United States with fire, dictated augmented persecution to Ireland : in one and the other case safety was sought in union.

The united Americans beat our armies ; what the united Irish might have been driven to do, the happy change in our rulers has rendered doubtful. No longer doubtful is the disposition or object of Ireland ; no sooner was she apprised that her persecutors were replaced by the friends of civil and religious liberty, than all irritation ceased, as if by magic spell.

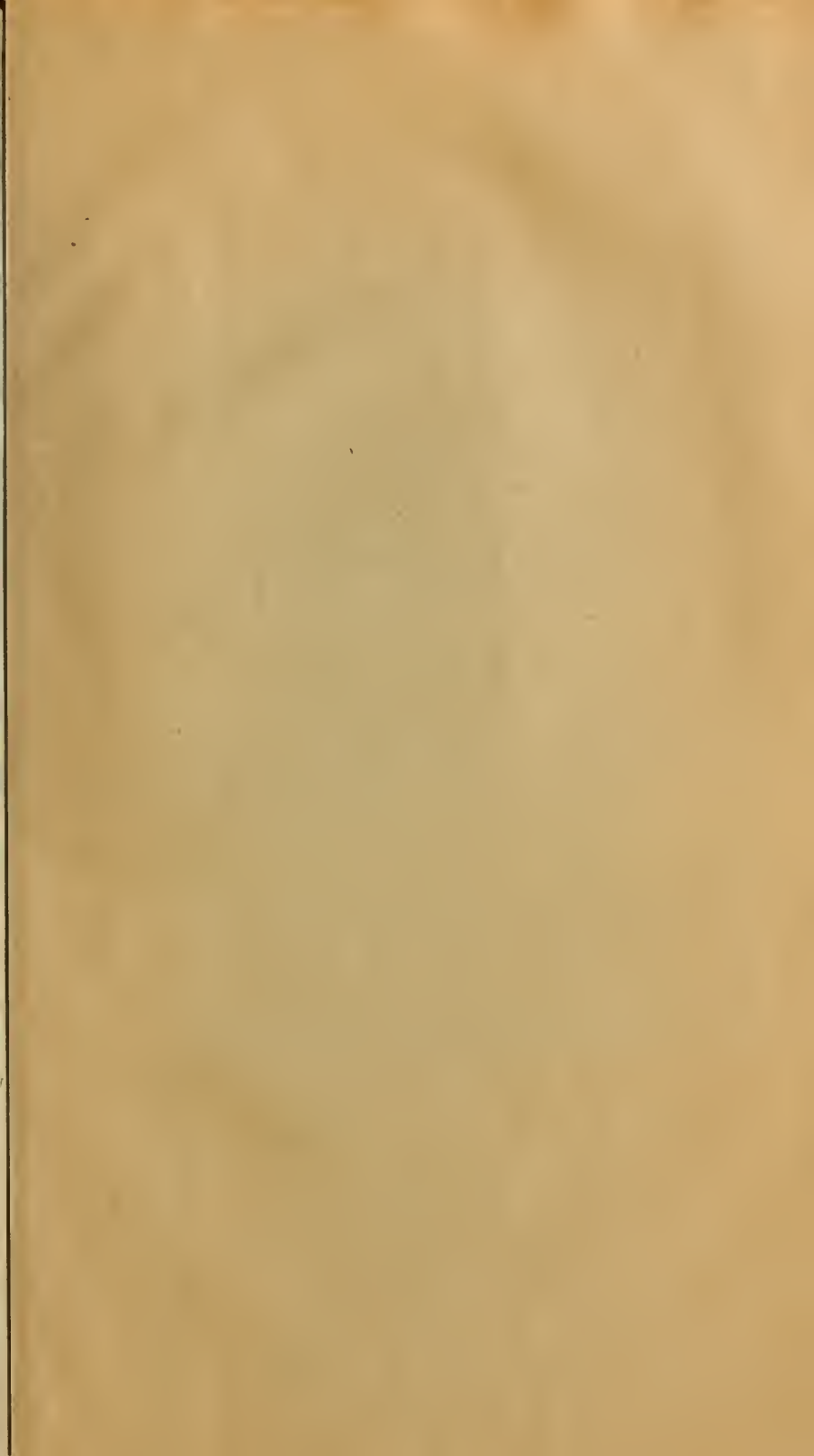
Writhing under the twofold torment of insult and oppression, she never lost sight of her friends in her hatred to her enemies. Loyal to her King and true to herself and sister kingdom, but steadfast in her claims, she sought the blessings of the constitution by constitutional means alone. A dawn of new hope that those blessings might be extended to her has restored her to peace: the accomplishment of that hope can alone consolidate that peace. Religious prejudices apart, her claims stand undisputed, and justice apart, prudence would grant them. Nothing can torture man more than privation of rights; and no passion is more violent than the desire of being restored to them.

The heart and spirit of man are eternally at work to pass from bad to good, from good to better; the one desires, the other acts; such is nature's eternal law, but oppression cannot last for ever! If the force of prejudice should still prevail and render you unjust, a reference to man's first principles should render you prudent, as being demonstrative of the danger of prolonging his sufferings beyond his physical and moral power of endurance!

Inasmuch as I may have succeeded in removing those prejudices that are inimical to the cause of civil and religious liberty, my object will be attained; but let the result be what it may, the attempt will, I trust, be excused, as emanating from those feelings of gratitude and attachment towards you, which neither time nor place has banished for one moment from my heart.

GM. LL. WARDLE.

Florence,
November 3rd, 1827.



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